1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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867 In this way the child experiences the processes of kinship, entering gradually widening circles of people with concomitant responsibilities and meanings. About the age of seven, for instance, kinship sentiment means running errands for close relatives, borrowing things, helping in carrying presents and gifts for them, and so forth. A child runs errands for his [603] paternal and maternal uncles and grandfathers whether they live with the [604] father or not, whether they are on good terms or not. Beyond these categories of kinship, the child is not compelled to run errands for other relatives who are not in harmony with his parents, on pain of punishment. Through the disciplinary powers of the uncle and the parent's family in general, the child finds himself more drawn towards his mother's people whom he usually goes to visit with his mother, because, as mentioned earlier, he finds them less censorious than paternal relatives. These visits to the maternal relatives are more frequent in the case of adolescent boys who can enjoy a relaxing and more genial relationship in their leisure time at night. As they grow older, kinship for boys and girls means help and assistance on ceremonial events of the extended family and the clan. It is significant to notice that children use only eight terms of address: [601] father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. The last four categories of uncle and aunt are only used when those addressed are married; otherwise they are addressed merely by their [184] first names. In Silwa, unlike many other rural areas in the province of Kena, boys and girls tend, on the whole, to drop these four categories of kinship address after their marriage and usually call their uncles and aunts by their first names. It seems that after marriage boys and girls attain a [885] certain amount of social independence, and thus they do not address [601] uncles and aunts by kinship titles in the same way as they do not address the latter if they are not married, or if the age difference is slight. The recognition of blood relation, however, is usually used as a test for young children by their elders: one might hear an elder questioning a younger, 'Who is your uncle? Who is your cousin? Where do they live? Whom do you prefer?' and so on. The adolescents have a few puzzles depending on [524] kinship terms, and division of inheritance, the solution of which lies in the understanding of a linguistic twist, or a pun.[1]

The child's recognition of the importance of his family and his identification with it is acquired at a very early stage of his development. The child [195] usually talks in the first person plural, by saying 'our donkey, our camel'. In fact, it is preferable to use the plural pronoun rather than the singular, as it is considered to be modest and less presumptuous. This identification with the family is also evidenced by the fact that in children's swearing, and in that of the adults for that matter, the curse is directed towards the father, the mother, the family, or to one's origin (seed). It is very seldom indeed that a curse refers directly to the child or the person addressed. When children are praised by visitors, such praise is couched in terms such

[1] See Appendix VII for boys' riddles.

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ground pretending to be dead. The fisherman picked the fox up and put it in his basket on top of the fish. Surreptitiously the fox began to eat the fish, and after he had gobbled them all up, jumped out of the basket and mocked the fisherman, saying, 'I have triumphed over you' (literally, I have seared you). 'You will never be able to use my skin either in winter or in summer, while I have eaten up all your fish.'

VIII

There was a man who had first a daughter and then a son. After the death of their mother their father married again. Their stepmother[1] hated them even more because she herself had not borne any children, and she used to make them work very hard for her.

One day she gave her stepchildren two baskets of equal size to fill with fuel (animal dung, bits of straw and wood found along the roads). She promised a loaf of wheat bread and an egg to the one who filled the basket first. The brother did not gather much fuel, and for most of the time he was taking fuel out of his sister's basket, and putting it into his own basket. In this way he filled his basket first, and returned home, asking his stepmother for the promised reward. The stepmother told him to wait until she grilled the egg in her neighbour's oven, and asked him to go to sleep in the meanwhile. On her return the boy was sleeping, whereupon she slew him with a sharp knife, put him in a pot, and proceeded to cook him as if he had been a goose.

When the sister returned, she enquired about her brother, and the stepmother replied that she had sent him on an errand to his maternal aunt. She asked her to go on heating the pot with the fuel, asking her not to take the lid off the pot. But while the stepmother went out to bake the bread in the neighbour's oven, the girl lifted the lid and saw her brother's finger: she was grieved and started to cry. When the stepmother returned she asked her why she was crying, and whether she had lifted the lid. The girl answered that she was not crying, but that her tears were caused by the smoke, as she had to blow the fire constantly for the fuel was not dry enough.

In the evening the father came home and the wife offered him his meal which consisted of his son's flesh. On enquiring why his daughter was crying, the stepmother told him that she refused her dinner, and that she could not find any reason for her grief. When the bones were thrown away, the girl collected them all and put them in a jewel box which she hid under the water-jar from which the family drank. After a while, the child's ghost (sul) appeared, singing a beautiful tune: 'I am a green sparrow, who was killed by my stepmother, and whose flesh was eaten by my bloody father (aboya alars), and whose bones were collected by my affectionate sister.'

One day while the stepmother was grinding corn, the boy sang the

[1] The stepmother is always referred to descriptively as the wife of the father (literally, the father's woman: 'marat al-abu', cfm. Arabic, 'imrat al-ab').

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Appendix Four

A NOTE ON KINSHIP TERMS

After discussing the village social structure from a general viewpoint it is worth while describing the kinship terms. Though Professor Fortes considers the kinship terminology as a superficial way of approaching the social structure, it is a necessary approach, for they are handy techniques by which people sort out their relations with one another, and are accordingly able to assume the structural behaviour or produce the preferred responses.

Kinship terms in Silwa, as well as in the province of Aswan, are those generally used in Arabian society. The following list is an enumeration of these terms:

Om (class. Um): mother.
Jid (class. Jad): paternal grandfather (in inheritance procedures only he is referred to as 'regular grandfather': gid sahih).
Jid: maternal grandfather (distinguished from the paternal grandfather in inheritance procedures by calling him 'irregular grandfather': gid fasid).
'Am: father's brother, paternal uncle.
'Ammah: father's sister, paternal aunt.
Khal: mother's brother, maternal uncle.
Khalah: mother's sister, maternal aunt.
Wad 'Am (class. Ibn Am): father's brother's son—paternal cousin.
Bit 'Am (class. Bint 'am): father's brother's daughter.
Wad 'Ammah: father's sister's son.
Bit 'Ammah: father's sister's daughter.
Wad Khal: mother's brother's son—maternal cousin.
Bit Khal: mother's brother's daughter.
Wad Khalah: mother's sister's son.
Bit Khalah: mother's sister's daughter.
Akh: brother.
Akht (class. Ukht): sister.
'Adeel: wife's sister's husband. The word, literally 'balancing' in Arabic, indicating the equivalent and symmetrical position of the two husbands in the family.

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601 Silf: sister's husband.
Hama (class. hamu): father-in-law.
Hamah: mother-in-law.
Naseeb: general category for male in-laws, literally meaning related.
Nasibah: general category for female in-laws.

It is also interesting to note that there is a distinction made between true brothers from the same parents called 'Ashika', and brothers from the father only, referred to occasionally as 'sons of the father'. The uterine brother is also called brother, and in inheritance procedures he is referred to as 'the concealed brother'. In the classical Arabic the grandson from the daughter is called 'Sibt', while that from the son is called 'Hafeed'. These two terms are not used, however, in the village, the persons concerned being referred to as 'wad bitty' ('my daughter's son') and 'wad walady' ('my son's son'). It is also significant to note the distinction between the patrilineal descent and the matrilineal descent. Relatives from the former are referred to as from the ' 'Asaba', which literally means 'backbone', while the latter are referred to as from the 'lahma' which means 'flesh'.

Such precise and defined Arabian kinship terms have led anthropologists to include them in the 'descriptive systems'. Yet distant relatives related to the patrilineal side, and of the father', or grandfather's generation, could be called ''Am' (paternal uncle), and less commonly ''Ab' (father) or 'Gid' (grandfather), and those on the mother's side are 'Khal'. Sometimes for a more distant relative the villagers, as they put it, 'calculate the degree', and find out the relations by abbreviating or simplifying the genealogy, e.g. by considering cousins as brothers.

611 Though kindred is traced through both parents (bilateral), yet inheritance, and social groupings of the extended family, clan and section are based on the unilateral patrilineal principle of kinship.

The following is one of a hundred examples. 684
Mahmoud Ahmed 'Abdallah was leaving his village 577
near Nag' Hammadi, one day in March 1937, to go as usual to the fields, when he learnt that his sister, a widow of thirty-five, had been seduced. Hearing this he returned at once to the village and went to his sister's house. Without uttering a word he seized the *fass* he had with him and split open the poor woman's skull. When the crime became known, the Maamûr of the Markaz, the District Judge, and the Inspector of Public Health went together to the spot. The man himself gave the police the weapon he had used to murder his sister, and after confessing his crime, declared that he had wanted to avenge the family honour.

The wife may be the real ruler of the household, but woe 593
to any woman who shows a lack of respect for her husband 562
by walking in front of him on the way to market, or by interrupting him in any way while he is talking or playing with his friends. He never calls her by her own name, but addresses her as: *Ya mara* (Woman!), *Ya bint* (Girl!), [60]
or *Ya Umm Ahmad* (Mother of Ahmad! — his son). He shows his supremacy here by treating her scornfully and giving no sign of affection. The older he gets, the more he demands and values this respect.

"My wife has borne me ten children", said a fellah. "Ten children; and not one of them squints or is blind. With them beside me I feel myself honoured and respected. Thanks to their mother, their feet have never wandered along the paths of shame. She wipes their noses and cleans their faces. She teaches them to kiss my hand when I come back from the fields, to rise when I come in, to serve me first, and never to smoke when I am there."

The peasant wife, who may bear children at any time 844
between the ages of fourteen and forty-five, gives birth in the simplest fashion in the world, sitting, like the women of Pharaonic times. Mishaps are rare.

But the birth is preceded and followed by a thousand 843
practices intended to bring the child fullness of health and happiness. The magic rites are far more important than hygienic precautions. The mother is firmly persuaded that whatever she looks at attentively or wishes for ardently while she is with child will have an effect on the baby. So she